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**Southeast Asia
Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN**

No 12, December 1990

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East Asia

Southeast Asia

Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN
No 12, December 1990

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TAP CHI CONG SAN Is Entering Its 36th Year
00000000 Hanoi *TAP CHI CONG SAN* in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 1-4

[Article published in FBIS-EAS-91-061, 29 Mar 91 pp 56-59]

**Further Develop the People's Ownership in Order
To Contribute To Solving the Urgent
Socioeconomic Problems**

913E0010A Hanoi *TAP CHI CONG SAN*
in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 90 pp 5-9

[Article by Vu Oanh, member of the CPV Secretariat]

[Text] The ownership rights of the people are being recognized and implemented more and more based on the development of the revolution and the standards of the laboring people. Building, ensuring, and elevating the ownership rights of the people is a long-term and basic problem in the revolutionary leadership line of the party. In today's situation, to manifest the people's ownership rights in order to contribute to quickly resolving the immediate difficulties, we must concentrate on the following specific and immediate problems:

1. The state must actively renovate the socioeconomic policy and management style in order to ensure that the democratic mechanism is implemented effectively.

The all-round renovation line of the party is completely correct. Based on the principles pointed out by that line, the state must actively renovate the management policy and management style in order to ensure that the democratic mechanism is implemented effectively. Having correct policies that are in accord with reality and the interests of the laborers will definitely arouse the strength of the people. If management is good, discipline is maintained, unity is strengthened, and the people's standard of living is maintained, the hearts of the people will be concentrated, and their strength will be brought together and increased greatly. In the renovation process, outmoded practices are being eliminated and replaced by things that are newer and more perfect to satisfy the new developments of reality. The new things are bringing sizable and immediate results. However, there are also new things that have just appeared, but it is already clear that they are not in accord with development and will restrict development. Thus, the state must actively regulate things to ensure that its management policies are always in accord with and will stimulate development. To have correct policies, the all-round political viewpoint must be understood thoroughly, attention must be given to timeliness and unity, and, above all, the process of implementing these policies must be urgently summarized.

In three years of renovation, from the standpoint of the people's ownership rights, we can clearly see that there are many problems that need to be examined and dealt with better.

To promote and expand production, quickly have a socialist multifaceted commodity economy in which the plans are tied to domestic and foreign markets, and switch to socialist economic accounting, the bases must be allowed to operate independently. Council of Ministers Decision 217-HDBT, which promulgated policies on renovating planning and socialist economic accounting for state enterprises, has generated many changes in industrial production. But in making these changes, many problems have appeared concerning asset and capital use rights, the relationship between the management rights of the directors and the leadership of the party committees, the participation rights of the trade unions and workers, the control role of the workers, and the responsibilities of the directors. Directive 100 of the Secretariat on end-product contracts in agriculture and Resolution 10 of the Politburo on renovating the agricultural management mechanism have opened up basic paths in agricultural production. The household contract movement and many other open policy mechanisms have mobilized the capital and labor strength of the peasants for commercial production. Better results have been achieved, and this has contributed to creating new production capabilities in the rural areas. Many scientific and technical advances have been used effectively in production on a broad scale (new varieties, farming techniques, specialized farming areas, modern equipment and technology in processing products, and so on). The capabilities of many economic elements have begun to be exploited in expanding agriculture. In many spheres, varied and interwoven cooperation has appeared and expanded with a variety of forms and on various scales. But in implementing Resolution 10, there are many problems that must be solved, such as prices, product distribution, agricultural insurance, and the management apparatus. As everyone realizes, ownership rights in industrial, agricultural, and commercial production must be restored to the bases. But the problem is ensuring that the bases are strong enough to implement those rights. The state has not implemented enough specific policies to stimulate the independence and creativity of the bases. Many times, the policies are implemented slowly and arbitrarily. Today's social and economic development policies must concentrate on answering the following questions for the bases: How should the right to manage and use socialist assets be turned over to the labor collectives? Should there be public enterprises and corporations? What are the responsibilities of the directors? And so on. Other problems include increasing capital for production and technical investment, expanding the production sectors, and training cadres. And there are the issues of commodity export and import, product distribution, the rights and obligations of the production installations with respect to the managing organizations above them, income taxes, loans, and deposits. Besides this, attention must be given to guiding and developing production relationships in industry and agriculture. Cooperative forms must be expanded from the bottom up based on the principle of voluntary democracy. A specific direction of development must be set for the private economy, and

favorable conditions must be created to encourage people to invest capital and technology in production. The state must formulate plans to mobilize every force and potential to expand the economy and create model economic zones and leading economic sectors. For example, special economic zones can be developed in coastal areas in order to attract foreign investment capital, provide jobs, and create high-value commodities. We must continue to develop many ways to export labor to countries that need laborers. Basic infrastructural changes must be made for agricultural production and the lives of the people in the rural areas, and the division of labor must be expanded in these zones. Land reclamation and the construction of the new economy in the mountains and remote areas must be renovated. Male and female military corps [binh doan] can be established to do capital construction work in the new areas in order to form new population centers where people can live well and expand production. The policies must give priority to these economic zones.

The social policies, which must be tied to the economic positions and policies, are the motive force of ownership rights. If the social policies are not tied to the economic policies, they will restrict economic development and greatly limit the creativity and independence of the laborers. It must be admitted that, during the past period, our social policies and social control have been weak. Production realities are posing many social problems that must be solved. The need to improve the people's lives and standard of culture and the need for democracy for each person and group of people require that we revise the cultural, educational, public health, recreational, wage, housing, labor protection, and social insurance policies, look after families who scored achievements for the revolution, the families of war invalids and war heroes, retired people, elderly people who have no one on whom to rely, and disabled people, and revise the religious and ethnic minorities policies. The basic requirement in revising the policies is to ensure social fairness, improve the material and spiritual lives of the laborers, and encourage all citizens to carry out their work in a productive and effective manner with good quality.

The weaknesses in social control have resulted in economic renovation encountering serious obstacles. This has restricted the ownership rights of the people. But, on the other hand, opportunists and bad elements have used this in order to engage in illegal activities. The problem today is that the state must fully manifest the ownership rights of the people within the framework of the law. In managing the country, the state must manifest its power, resolutely suppress counterrevolutionaries and destructive elements, and maintain political security and social order so that people can live and work in peace. Social evils must be eliminated using educational measures, persuasion, and the law. A unified legal system must be created nationwide. The laws and policies of the party and state must be effective nationwide. Anyone who opposes or violates the laws must be punished promptly.

There cannot be separate zones or areas where destructive elements can extort money and become rich. The state's antismuggling and anticorruption policies are in accord with the wishes of the people. The people support these policies. Thus, these must be developed quickly. When something illegal is discovered, the people responsible must be dealt with immediately and punished resolutely.

2. The mass political organizations and other social organizations of the masses play a large role in manifesting the ownership rights of the people.

These organizations represent the rights of the people, and they are the ones who mobilize the masses to participate in implementing and protecting the people's ownership rights. Today, the mass political organizations and other social organizations of the masses are trying to renovate their activities at the bases and are concentrating on solving the pressing problems raised by the people in their organizations. This renovation guideline has manifested the strength of the people.

The Confederation of Trade Unions has become deeply involved in motivating workers and civil servants to implement the new production mechanisms and, together with the state, shouldering the burdens and overcoming the difficulties in state enterprises. The Peasant Association has become deeply involved in motivating the peasants to engage in family economic activities. The Women's Association has emphasized solving sexual education problems and protecting the rights of women and children and has continued to promote various movements, such as helping each other carry on family economic activities, fighting poor nutrition among children and the tendency of students to drop out of school, practicing family planning, improving food patterns, and so on. The Youth Union has become deeply involved in educating the assault youths on the production and scientific fronts and maintaining the security of the fatherland. The Fatherland Front has raised the banner of solidarity among the various strata of people, organizations, and ethnic groups to have them participate in building and solidifying the dictatorship of the people, by the people, and for the people, formulating laws, and so on. Other social organizations have involved the masses in improving skills, improving the people's standard of culture, participating with the state in formulating economic and social and scientific and technical development policies and mechanisms, and encouraging the people to manifest a spirit of mutual affection and to expand humanitarian and charitable activities.

These activities have their own special characteristics and different contents, but their common goal is to exploit the potential and knowledge available and engage all citizens in useful social activities. In order to ensure that these activities are carried on quickly and to achieve good results, the mass organizations and social organizations must coordinate things closely with each other and divide the work in order to keep things from piling

up and avoid wasting time and the contributions of the people. To overcome the material difficulties, we must give attention to the motto "the state and people working together." But if attention is given only to encouraging contributions by the people and no attention is given to implementing the rights of the people, it will not be possible to manifest the strength of the people. The mass political organizations and other social organizations must actively propose positions and policies to the state to expand production and increase the strength of the people. On the other hand, the positions and policies of the party and state must be disseminated to the people. Furthermore, together with the state, the implementation of the policies must be controlled. It must be determined which places are having problems implementing the policies or which are not implementing the policies resolutely and which positions and policies are out of tune with reality. It must be discovered whether there are loopholes that allow people to violate the unified rights of the country and people and interfere with the lives of the laborers.

3. Whether party leadership and state control nationwide achieve good results depends to a large extent on the leadership role of the committee echelons in each locality and at each base.

Facing the need to manifest the ownership rights of the people and motivate the people to have confidence in the party's leadership, carry on production enthusiastically, economize, and solve difficulties, the committee echelons in each locality and at each base must change their activities as follows:

They must thoroughly understand the lines, positions, and policies of the party and state and apply these creatively, considering their locality's specific situation. Policies must be applied creatively, but the unity of the laws must be respected. Things must not be done for the sake of immediate gain or local interests. Instead, the people must be encouraged to fulfill their obligations as citizens; their sense of responsibility to the country must be heightened; and they must obey the laws. To make creative use of the policies, the renovation line and viewpoint of the party must be adhered to, actual practices must be studied, and attention must be given to the ideas of the people.

The leadership and control of the party must be strengthened. There must be control not only to provide motivation, but also to promptly block erroneous decisions and prevent the money, materials, and manpower of the state and people from being wasted. The committee echelons must lead the mass political organizations in carrying this out well.

The work must be reviewed, and this must become the new work style of all committee echelons. In reviewing things, there must be an emphasis on the scientific and practical. Formal and one-sided reviews that rely only on the experiences of the places that have done a good job and that ignore the views of those places that have not

done a good job must be avoided. Things must be reviewed in order to discover things and promptly make proposals and in order to develop the good aspects and block the bad aspects. For this reason, honesty must be elevated, and boastfulness must be abandoned. Only if things are reviewed will the committee echelons become aware of the suggestions of the people, discover the weaknesses in their leadership, and be able to continue leading the people in manifesting their role as masters of the country.

Party base organizations and party members are always the key problems in party building. If party members do not set an example and do not adhere to the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state, they will not be able to assemble and guide the people. If party members do not obey the laws and if they slight and oppress the people, they will not be able to defend the ownership rights of the people. Thus, solidifying and purifying the party and improving the leadership capabilities and combat strength of the party base organizations and ranks of party cadres is closely related to the revolutionary movements of the masses and to the ownership rights of the laboring people.

The principle of democratic centralism must be maintained in party activities, particularly in the activities of the committee echelons. The committee echelons must be active in leadership and strong in every situation, they must have the confidence of people and be the one on whom party members and the masses can rely. They must resolutely carry out the measures for having the masses participate in party building. Through mass movements, cadres must be selected and given assignments, and superior people must be selected for recruitment into the party.

Build a Strong Party

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 10-17

[Article by Ha Huy Giap; not translated]

Democratization of a Socialist Commodity Economy

913E0010B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 90 pp 18-21, 37

[Article by Dao Xuan Sam, professor of economics]

[Text] In renovating our country, democratizing every aspect of social life from a socialist standpoint is a basic theme and also a very complex process. Socialism of a democratic nature includes a democratic economy. Reality has shown that a socialist multifaceted commodity economy is a democratic and progressive type of economy that is in accord with the specific historical conditions of our country today.

The development and initial achievements of this economy have had a clear effect on the entire social

democracy and they contribute directly to forming a new understanding of the socialist social system and the process of building that system.

The New Economy—the Initial Step Is To Stimulate the Process of Democratizing Society

After the war for liberation, our country entered a new historical period in which the task of building the country became one of the leading tasks. In building socialism, our country has not been able to avoid state administrative socialism (which has been widespread in many socialist countries in past decades). Economically, we have continued to apply a policy of nationalization, very centralized and with a state subsidies mechanism (added to the commandism as in wartime). Switching to peacetime conditions, these economic management policies and mechanisms have become undemocratic, and they have held back production, restricted circulation, and brought serious results: social sluggishness and turmoil and the loss of confidence of the people. Because of this, the party and state have proposed revolutionary renovation. This renovation is aimed at eliminating the old forms, creating a new understanding, and gradually building socialism in the sense of a democratic economic and social system.

The birth and development of a multifaceted commodity economy on the path to socialism have taken place as a historical necessity and an urgent need for freedom and the democratic rights of the laboring people. This is the initial step in the democratization process.

From the resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee, Fourth Term, in 1979, to the resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee, Sixth Term, in 1989, the party passed through 10 turbulent years before affirming a correct line. That is the line on developing a planned multifaceted commodity economy on the path to socialism.

Our commodity economy is materially different from the developed capitalist commodity economies. It came into being in conditions in which there was a revolutionary state led by the Communist Party and based on eliminating the landlord and bourgeois classes. In the new economy, although there will still be rich and poor people, there will not and cannot be the preconditions for restoring the ruling and exploitative classes, and society cannot be divided into bourgeois and proletarian classes. In conditions in which public ownership is the guiding factor, the private ownership elements and forms cannot grow into big capitalists, but can follow the path of socialist cooperation (the socialist economy must be understood as a cooperative economic system based on the ideas of Lenin). Naturally, in this economy, equality cannot go outside the bounds of the principle of bourgeois jurisdiction. But in spite of this, it can develop and is gradually creating new factors and eliminating injustice and inequality.

The process of switching to a multifaceted commodity economy has the nature of a broad mass movement. This has had a positive effect on freeing the potential to create labor, expanding production and circulation, and establishing the rights and responsibilities of the producers and consumers in society. The atmosphere of openness and democracy in the economy has spread and stimulated renovation on other fronts. In particular, it has created the preconditions for forming new people and citizens with the ability to serve as masters in a civil society.

Forming New Citizens in a Civil Society, the Important Factor of Democracy

Since the country switched to developing a multifaceted commodity economy, three economic phenomena that must be given attention have appeared:

The contract system has replaced the staff labor system (in the state sector) and the unified distribution control system (in the cooperatives).

An important element of the laborers in the state and collective economies have tended to become wealthy (as a result of stimulating the development of the family economy and giving contracts and pooling business capital).

There has been a tendency to expand cooperative and joint venture relationships and link various elements based on the principles of democracy, voluntariness, and mutual profit (with public ownership being the guide) and to operate in accord with unified business laws.

These economically necessary and progressive phenomena have had a positive effect on the birth of the new people, laboring people who have freedom in the new-style civil society. Contract labor, tied to giving property to an important element of the laborers in the state and collective economies, will establish the independence of individuals with respect to labor and commercial production capital. This form has repelled unwholesome tendencies in the state and collective economic sectors: laborers never gave attention to saving and accumulating; people intentionally avoided doing labor and fulfilling their social obligations, but they were very quick in trying to make a profit for themselves and profit from the price differences; and people used bribery to gain good positions and special rights and privileges. This has also done away with the inequality between those with positions and power in the management apparatus and the laborers under them who grew poorer and poorer, who worked passively, who could only carry out the orders given them and had no independence, who did not take responsibility or show creativity, and who had no feelings for higher echelons. Now, in implementing the new economic policies and mechanisms, in which there is a rational division of labor and rights and each person is master of his own labor and commercial production capital, they can make choices and decisions about the economic plans and bear responsibility for the commercial production results within the framework of

the contracts and laws. This economic form is constantly affecting and gradually forming the basic qualities of the new type of laborer. For personal interests, people are engaging in labor competition, and they are engrossed in achieving good results. They are concerned about accumulating capital and raising their standards. They also have a concept of responsibility about the interests of other people and about collective interests and the interests of all of society. Stated another way, there is an economic form for ensuring that people "share mutual interests in cooperative labor." That is an important step in the democratization process.

In the renovation atmosphere, with the competition of many economic elements, the social market activities have become very intense. Today's consumers are more enthusiastic and have greater self-confidence. Laborers (who are also consumers) are free to make choices and are not limited to just a few necessities. They are giving attention to everything needed for life in accord with their needs, tastes, and pocketbooks (which is something that no one dared think about in the past). Consumers are beginning to be shown some respect. The commercial producers must now pay attention to the consumers, weigh the pros and cons of things, and improve their concept of serving the consumers. The time when producers could produce poor-quality goods and when businessmen could do whatever they wanted, set prices arbitrarily, act in an authoritarian manner, and blame the consumers is now passing. In the new economy, the state will stipulate the rights and interests of consumers in the laws.

Thus, with the new economy, society has a new atmosphere with democratic relationships and with cooperation and mutual interests and mutual respect.

An even more important point is that, with our country's multifaceted commodity economy, a new class structure and relationship has appeared. Things are not as simple as once thought. Besides the working class, the collective peasant class, and the intellectuals, our society has other private and individual economic elements (which can be considered to be necessary in a transitional period and which is outside socialism). Today, through reality, we are gradually forming a new concept about classes and the class structure in a commodity economy society. There are two special characteristics that need to be given attention:

In the conditions of an economic system with the credentials of a materially new system (in which public ownership guides and points the way to socialism), the various economic elements in the system all bear the nature of the system, and they are all interwoven within the system (there is both competition and cooperation, and, what is important, conflicts cannot be allowed to arise).

Among the people, a strategic alliance has replaced the structure, but they must always cooperate closely with

each other in everything from the economic sphere to the political sphere. These forces are the activists in pushing society forward.

All-people solidarity in building socialism is now becoming a reality based on the new economy, and changes are being made in the social and class structures in accord with the laws of development and progress. The mass organizations have had to change their names. The Confederation of Trade Unions is now the Vietnam Labor Confederation. The Collective Peasants Association is now the Vietnam Peasants Association, and so on. This is one of the results of democratizing society.

Continue To Overcome the Difficulties in Order To Manifest Democracy

Since 1989, with the basic characteristic being a shift to a commodity economy, our country has made important changes. Production has gradually expanded, there are more commodities, imports and exports have been expanded in connection with reducing inflation, and conditions have been created for stabilizing prices and the value of our currency.

However, there are still difficulties that must be overcome:

Along with the strong commercial production activities and open social life, there has also been an increase in disorder and dispersion (in commercial production), and there has been a great increase in underground economic activities and illegal activities.

The control and commercial production results of the socioeconomic management system and of the commercial production control system in the state sector, which were already poor, are exposing the weaknesses and confusion [of the systems] in the face of the switch to a market economy. Furthermore, these systems are the main places of smuggling and corruption.

What lessons can be learned from this?

First, the economic advances made since 1989 have manifested a new turning point from the old policies and mechanisms to new policies and mechanisms. At the same time, there has been clear guidance at the macroeconomic level (concerning both viewpoints and regulatory measures) aimed at opening up domestic markets and imports and exports, accepting prices and market exchange rates, dealing with interest rates, and so on. Thanks to the new policies and the united strategic guidance, the face of society has been changed and strategic power has been created even though the economic management apparatus and state economic sector are still very weak and contain many negative aspects. This shows that the new economic policies are necessary and that the guiding role of the macroeconomic level is very important.

Second, although there are many reasons for the anarchic situation in commercial production and social life in a number of places and for the weakness and corruption in

the management apparatus and state economic sector, in the final analysis, these arise from the old policies and management mechanism. Now that we are renovating the economic management policies and mechanisms with the viewpoint of developing a democratic multifaceted commodity economy and placing this in a long-term strategic position, perhaps the laborers, producers, and businessmen in the various elements will, in their own interests, stop acting contrary to the legal policies and mechanisms and voluntarily work openly and honestly, with unity between individual and collective interests and the interests of all of society.

The present difficulties can be overcome only by continuing to switch to a commodity economy based on the viewpoint of having a unified social market nationwide that is tied to the international market. Prices, exchange rates, and market interest rates must be accepted. At the

same time, ways of mastering and regulating the markets using real strength and monetary and financial tools must be studied. Unless this is done, it will be easy to become entangled, and there is the danger of reverting to the old management method with all its shortcomings.

Thus, the new economic policies, which have a democratic spirit and which are in accord with the interests of the masses, can enable us to overcome the present difficulties. Maintaining and uniformly renovating the economic and social policies means gradually building a socialist society based on economic and social relationships. Only with this foundation will it be possible to renovate the political system and, in particular, build a new type of state with economic power, with a close alliance among the classes and other strata based on a spirit of doing things voluntarily and together controlling society.

Are We Returning to a Small Peasant Economy?
00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 22-25

[Article by Tran Duc; not translated]

**Encourage the Positive Nature of Laborers
Through Individual Interests**
00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 26-31

[Article by Le Huu Tang; not translated]

The Motive Factors of Society Today
00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 32-36

[Article by Thien Nhan and Hoang Cong; not translated]

From 'People as the Roots' to 'People as the Masters'
913E0010C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 90 pp 38-42

[Article by Duong Tung]

[Text] Only when a specific stage of historical development is reached do people recognize and accept the role of the masses. And that role is constantly elevated based on the evolutionary tendencies of mankind. One of the major ideas about the role of the masses, which arose during the feudal period, is: "Does the country use the people as the root" or "are the people the root of the country?" The word "root" is usually understood in the sense of foundation, the place on which to rely, and great material and spiritual force. A "country" is an incarnation of the collective, of the nation, and of the people. However, the concepts "people," "country," and "root" vary from period to period. These change, develop, and have different class nuances.

In the book *Huai Nan Zi* [Remember Man] (written during the later feudal period in China), it says: "Peace is the root of people, and people are the root of the country." Even though people "wanted to live in peace" and have the "people serve as the roots," the feudal forces in China at that time could not resolve the class conflict that existed in society. The idea of the "people serving as the root" was still within a very strict framework: "Big men make the rules and small men make an effort."¹ This means that society is divided into two types of people: The elite, who have the right to rule those below them, and the masses, who serve the elite.

Because of Vietnam's specific historical situation, the concept of the "people serving as the root" contains many different ideas. Based on the realities of the country, building the country has always gone hand in hand with protecting the country. And because of improvements in Vietnamese culture, every feudal dynasty here has given the concept "people as the roots"

valuable spiritual values which are both inherited and creative and original in nature. It can be said that this concept includes the following main themes:

First, the people are regarded as a great force with great potential strength. This strength has been manifested in building and defending the country. This strength can defeat aggressors who are more much powerful. Once the material and spiritual strength of the people has been launched, it can "move the heavens and shake the earth." Without this strength, the court and emperor could not do anything and could even be overthrown. "Root" here means relying on the strength of the people in order to carry out something. Nguyen Trai compared the strength of the people to a rising tide with the capability of overturning a boat and destroying a system. Phan Boi Chau said, "People: our people, of our people. The people are people of the country, and the country is a country of the people."

Second, attention must be given to the desires of the people and to forging the strength of the people. Tran Quoc Tuan compared the "ideas of the people to a city wall." He advocated "letting the people's strength root out the evil insects at the root." Ly Thuong Kiet considered "morals to be at the center in supporting people." Nguyen Hue said that "people must be nurtured first." Tran Thai Tong left the palace and went among the people in order to listen to the people and see what they were thinking.

Third, there must be patriotism and love and sympathy for the people. The fatherland has frequently been invaded by outsiders. The ruling class has seen the common ground between itself and the people—the fate of those who lose their country. The people at that time were closely tied to the sacred and important, their sovereign, and their country. Ly Thuong Kiet said, "We are sending forces to rescue the people." Nguyen Hue saw his main task as "rescuing the people when the country is in flames." Sympathy for the people was expressed quite clearly in a petition submitted to the emperor by Nguyen Trai: "Today, planning rites and music takes time. But without roots, things will not be strong. I hope that you [the emperor] will love and look after the people and take steps to prevent any complaints in the villages and hamlets."

In a small-peasant economy, an "ideal society"—emperor, mandarins, people—began to be formed and reflected the new level of development of the feudal order and the legitimate desire of the people for a peaceful and happy life. Later on, the modern scholars who proposed the sovereignty of the "nation-people" took a long step forward in the history of the development of the idea of "people as the roots."

Naturally, the concept of the "people as the roots" has its own limitations. At a time when the country was advancing, the imperial dynasty was flourishing, and the emperor, mandarins, and people were united in their effort to resist the invaders, establish independence, and

solidify the dynasty, the concept of the "people as the roots" was actively exploited. Then, when the system began to collapse, the emperor became powerless and the mandarins began to cause problems, become corrupt, and distance themselves from the people. Even though the concept of the "people as the roots" was recalled, this was just an empty slogan and dogma.

During the time of the Duy Tan dynasty, patriotic scholars stressed "same race" and "children of the first kings of Vietnam." But the "nationalists and compatriots" who formed the age were lost in their old way of thinking. They thought of the family as society and used family and kinsmen to resolve national relationships. In the final analysis, the subject of life for hundreds of years in society was just an image of the emperor. Nguyen Hue said that "the people in Tay Son don't have any land or ambition." When they took the throne, they told the people: "Sages follow natural principles in order to become lords in the country and become parents to the people." Thus, the people were still "subjects" and "servants" and the targets of rule who had to be "tended" and instructed. The picture of society was very clear: At the top was the emperor, the representative of the country and supreme power. At the bottom were the people, who were referred to as the "roots" but who were just passive means and forces at the call of those at the top.

Because of the limitations of history and the restrictions of the imperial system, the concept of the "people as the roots" remained stuck at that level. It could not advance higher even when the scholars of the Duy Tan period dreamed of a society in which the "people are masters." The dream of the patriotic scholars—the most progressive people of that age—was concealed by the class shackles and familiar dogmas. Ideas conceived far away and the bourgeois revolution put an end to the rule of the absolute monarchy, established a bourgeois state, a new democracy, and established the rights of man with the credentials of individuals and citizens. People did not know that a thinker and teacher of the proletarian revolution—Marx—had, for the first time, discovered and affirmed the decisive role of the masses, the true creators of history. The people participate in all production activities, create the material and spiritual goods of society, and maintain the conditions for the survival of society. The people are the powerful force of the revolution and the motive force for social progress. Marx correctly analyzed the relationship between individuals and the masses in the historical progress of man. He gave a scientific meaning to the concept "democracy."

After the working class and laboring people in our country carried out a victorious revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam and seized power from the ruling class, the people switched from being slaves to being the masters of society. In the new situation, from top to bottom, the people were the ones who held supreme power and who were building their country by themselves and for themselves.

During the first days of building the regime, using the words of our ancestors, "the state using the people as the root," President Ho Chi Minh pointed out the great role of the people and mentioned 12 specific "commandments" that the troops and cadres had to obey when dealing with and living among the people. He concluded that "the plant will be strong and the building will be successful based on the people."²

The party has used the concept of the "state using the people as the root" based on a spirit of inheriting the traditions of our ancestors and affirmed a simple truth: The people are a powerful force, and the revolution is the work of the masses. The key point is that, from these invaluable historical lessons, the party has affirmed the need to tighten its close relationship with the people, and, as a progressive element of the people, to enable the people to become masters and participate directly in managing the country and society in the new stage.

The term "people," in the sense of a historical category, includes many different elements, strata, and classes with different objective social positions and that can participate in building and developing the country in a specific period. As a sociological category, "people" reflects changes in the social structure. The country has been through the changes of reform movements and revolutions, particularly the proletarian revolution, and this has shaken the lives of the people to the roots. The social elements and classes that make up the people could not help but change.

In Vietnam today, in renovating the country with a varied and multifaceted economy, the various classes and strata of people, with the credentials of citizens, are equal before the law and are treated equally in reality. An important criterion for determining if a group is an element of the people is: Are they bent on and really participating in building the country and turning it into a strong and prosperous country where people can live comfortably and happily?

Now, the people "as roots" must also "be masters" and begin to "act like masters." The "roots," a manifestation of the creativity, dynamism, intelligence, and talent that have been liberated and freed, "can score great achievements."³ Thus, the "roots" must always be tended and strengthened. But unlike in the past (when the "roots" served those above them and were passive), today the "roots" have the ability to build stronger roots for themselves. In Vietnam, the people solidify their position and build forces through their broad political and social organizations.

The "people as roots" and the "people as masters" must in today's thinking and action be regarded as unified concepts that are organically related. However, entering the new life, the "masters" cannot be masters right away in all aspects of social life. "Masters" must have representatives in order to serve as masters. And the "masters" must study and train to be masters in a number of aspects in order to advance to becoming masters of all

aspects of social life. This is a long-term process. Thus, in order to manifest the "people as roots" and "people as masters" role in our country's present conditions, the following basic problems must be solved:

1. The rights of the "masters" must be guaranteed in real life and not just in legal documents or in words. This is fundamentally different from the previous concept of "people as roots" and materially different from bourgeois democracy.

The rights of the "masters" are manifested above all in the right to work in order to live and lead a life that is in accord with socioeconomic capabilities and a humanitarian and fair way of life. People have the right to be treated equally in accord with the law. They must not be treated differently in society. And they have individual freedoms and so on. In summary, steps must be taken to ensure that people "enjoy democratic rights and use their democratic rights to speak out and act."⁴

2. The people and organizations representing the ownership rights of the people must be selected carefully. An organizational structure and operating mechanism must be constructed for entrusting them with the rights of the people and ensuring that this does not lead to people losing any rights or to the representatives oppressing the people. To do this, the representatives must "have a concept of serving the people" and of "being the servant of the people" and not view themselves as the saviors of the people. They must put the interests of the people above all else, stay in close contact with the people, discuss things with the people, honestly criticize their own weaknesses, welcome criticism by the people, be prepared to learn from the people, and set an example in diligence, frugality, and honesty. Those are the lessons that President Ho taught cadres and party members. If the people lose confidence in their representatives, they have the right to dismiss them. This is a "direct and immediate" form of democracy⁵ aimed at enabling the representatives of the people to remain pure and flexible and not become bureaucratic or corrupt. Unfortunately, we have not used this form for a long time now.

3. Many practical forms must be created so that the people can study and learn to become masters, improve their concept of ownership and their ownership capabilities, and monitor the organizations that are representing them. We must create a "general educational plan" among the people and educate the people about maintaining discipline and obeying the laws of the state.

A society that uses laws as the standard for values will be able to measure the actions of all people, from ordinary people to those who hold high positions in society, and create an atmosphere of equality and humanity. Only such a society will be able to block demagogues who frequently talk about the "people as roots" and the "people as masters" and who say that "everything must be done for the people" but who engage in evil activities that show that "they are the roots," that "they are the masters," and that "everything must be done for them."

From the "people as roots" to the "people as masters," tying the "people as roots" to the "people as masters and owners" is the striking characteristic of the socialist democracy that we are building. It is essential that these important contents of socialist democracy be clearly understood. But what is even more essential is to transform these into actual practice in the life of our country.

Footnotes

1. Ta Chuyen, Thanh Cong, Year 13.
2. Ho Chi Minh, *On the Mass Viewpoint*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p. 41.
3. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, Volume 11, p. 131.
4. Ho Chi Minh, *On the Mass Viewpoint*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p. 98.
5. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 35, p. 132.

Some Ideas on Our Nation's Export Structure From Now to the Year 2000

913E0010D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 90 pp 43-47

[Article by Trieu Lap, MA in Economic Science]

[Text] Strengthening exports is one of our country's strategic tasks today. In order to carry out this task successfully, the first thing is to correctly determine a long-term export structure to the year 2000. Without a clear long-term export structure, we won't have targets in order to concentrate investments or a number of other measures and policies to accelerate the process of expanding the production of export goods.

In a narrow sense, exporting goods means selling goods produced domestically to other countries in order to bring in foreign currency. From this standpoint, exports concerns goods and money. Export goods are regarded as material conditions or specific means, and foreign currency revenues are the target. To have foreign currency revenues, there must be export goods, which are the targets of exchange with the outside.

Export goods must be able to compete with foreign goods. This depends on the domestic production conditions and the ability to keep up with the changes in supply and demand on world markets. We know that it is usually foreign markets that set the direction for the production of export goods. But whether the production of export goods moves in that direction depends on the specific capabilities and conditions of the national economy. Thus, domestic production is always the decisive factor. With respect to economically underdeveloped countries such as Vietnam, exports in general depend on accumulating whatever is on hand.

Not everything is suitable for export to world markets. Reality shows that competition on world markets is very fierce and complex. Goods that cannot compete will not be able to survive on world markets let alone eliminate competitors. For many years now, our foreign commerce sector has had goods, but has not been able to export them even though the price of these goods has been much lower than international prices. Naturally, attention must also be given to the fact that international markets are not purely commercial in nature. They are also controlled by political, social, and foreign affairs factors among the client countries.

The same is true of our country. The export structure cannot be determined in a subjective or arbitrary way but must start from the production conditions and structure of the national economy and the multifaceted relationship between our country and other countries.

However, regardless of the situation, the competitive ability of the export commodities will always play the decisive role.

There are two basic groups of commodities on world markets: machinery and equipment and all other goods. In general, exports of the first group always have an advantage over exports of the second group. There are several objective reasons for this. Machinery and equipment (including technical processes) are the factors that create productivity. The demand for machinery and equipment is constantly increasing and, because of this, distribution is favorable and prices increase constantly and quickly. Conversely, raw materials and agricultural products are production and consumption factors; demand rises and falls and is directly affected by cyclical factors. Thus, distribution is difficult and prices are unstable.

In international trade, there is a price scissors difference between these two groups that benefits the export of machinery and equipment and that works against the export of agricultural products and raw materials. Thus, in trading with developed capitalist countries, the developing countries are always at a disadvantage.

The question is, can the long-term export structure of our country be changed by the year 2000 in order to escape this disadvantage? The answer is no, because the export structure of a country must start from the production

structure of that country. With respect to Vietnam in the 1990's, the production structure of our national economy will continue to rely primarily on agriculture.

a. Agricultural yields still account for the largest percentage of gross national income, that is, approximately 51 percent of the national income.

b. Agricultural labor accounts for 72-73 percent of the total labor in the country. Approximately 81 percent of the people rely on agriculture. Thus, the peasants are the principal producers and consumers in the country.

c. Agricultural production is the economic sector that attracts much of the investment capital of the people. In general, investment by the state in agriculture is not that large as compared with other sectors. For example, in 1986, approximately 19.8 percent of all capital invested by the state was invested in agriculture as compared with 35.7 percent that was invested in industry.

d. In agricultural production, capital results are high. Material waste per dong of national income produced is much lower than in industry. In 1987, waste was only about 0.44 dong as compared with 1.88 dong in industry.

e. The long experience of the people in agricultural production (including crop growing and animal husbandry) is an advantage as compared with industrial production. At the same time, agricultural production has relatively synchronized material and technical conditions that allow the achievements of modern agricultural science to be applied.

Besides the agricultural products that are produced, the export processing and mining and drilling (particularly petroleum) sectors can expand rapidly in this decade, because they can attract foreign investment capital.

Looking at foreign markets and our present level of foreign trade, the sale of agricultural products, raw materials, and processed goods in general is more favorable than the sale of machinery, equipment, and many other industrial and consumer goods. Domestically, capabilities for selling agricultural products, raw materials, and processed goods are very great, and because of this, we can coordinate domestic sales with foreign sales in order to have a safer distribution market.

The state of our country's economy is indicated by the following data on our country's export structure:

	1976	1980	1985	1986	Average 76-80	Average 81-85
Total exports	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mining	16	10.9	9.4	7.8	14	10
Light industry, small industry and handicrafts	38.7	47.4	33.7	27.7	45.5	36.5
Agricultural products, processed agricultural products, forest products, and marine products	45.3	41.7	56.9	44.5	40.5	53.5

Source: Data of the Statistics General Department on the 1976-1980 economic situation, Hanoi, August 1987.

From the above data, we can see, in the export structure, that agricultural products in general account for approximately 50 percent. In 1989, this percentage rose to 53.3 percent. If this is not calculated based on rubles or dollars, the weight of the agricultural products group in the export structure will be much greater.

Our country's economy is now facing many great difficulties.

First, there are difficulties with capital. Because we do not have the ability to pay the interest or principal that is due or overdue, it is difficult for us to borrow more foreign currency, and our ability to attract foreign investments has been affected. Foreign currency that has been earned by exporting goods has generated few results because of loose management. In 1989, inspections of 1,136 business units showed that 100 billion dong and \$354 million belonging to the banks had not been remitted to the banks (NHAN DAN, 27 April 1990). Running after price differences, many sectors and localities have used the foreign currency not to import goods that directly support production but to import many types of luxuries.

As the foreign currency situation becomes more difficult, imports will be more and more limited. If not enough essential goods are imported, production and daily life in the country will suffer. In our country's present economic situation, the rapid decline in the import surplus financed by foreign loans is very worrisome. Today, not only is foreign currency encountering difficulties, but domestic capital is also scarce because production is stagnating and the main sources of revenues have dried up. If there is not enough investment capital for production, production will definitely encounter even greater difficulties.

Second, there are difficulties with markets. As for foreign markets, for a long time now, the Soviet Union and East Europe have been regarded as our key markets. But today, because of the great changes that have occurred in moving from a centralized planning mechanism to a market mechanism and because of the socioeconomic situation in those countries, trade between our country and those countries will definitely encounter many difficulties and obstacles. It will be difficult to sell such goods as small industry goods, art objects, ready-made clothing, goods processed for export, and so on. At the same time, although the relationship between our country and the capitalist markets has expanded somewhat, trade is still small and passive. Now that our relationship with the socialist markets is narrowing at a time when our relationship with the capitalist markets is like this, exports will definitely encounter many difficulties.

As for domestic markets, because production has declined, the national income (new value portion) has declined by a corresponding amount, with most of it

redistributed to producers through very ineffective markets. As a result, the purchasing power of society has clearly declined.

Added to this, because of the lack of policies to protect domestic markets and because foreign goods have been allowed to encroach on domestic products, the markets in general are at an impasse.

Third, there are difficulties with the mechanism. Vietnam's present socioeconomic management system cannot stimulate production or regulate distribution, circulation, or consumption; it has even disrupted these processes. Negative social phenomena are on the rise, and corruption in the state apparatus has reached an alarming level. Larger and larger amounts of state capital are being dispersed and lost. The state budget is seriously out of balance, and it has been out of balance for a long time. There is a crisis concerning currency and credit. The difficulties with the mechanism have had a direct effect on production and daily life.

In the situation in which the economy is facing many difficulties as discussed above, it is essential to determine a realistic export structure for the 1990's. To do this, attention must be given to the following:

Much attention must be focused on promoting the production of agricultural products for export, including crop growing and animal husbandry products, forest products, and marine products. The agricultural products processing industry and the consumer goods industry must be promoted in order to export goods and replace imports. If the problem of product quality and the market problem can be solved well, the export of agricultural products and handicraft items can account for a large percentage in the export structure of the 1990's.

Maximum effort must be made to cooperate with other countries to accelerate mining and drilling operations in the country, particularly oil and gas drilling, in order to speed up the export of these goods. At the same time, the various types of export services that bring in foreign currency must be expanded quickly. This includes foreign transport, posts and telecommunications, international travel, and finance and currency activities.

In order to concretize the long-term export structure of the 1990's, we can organize things as follows:

1. Agricultural and processed agricultural products (including forest and marine products). We must concentrate on three spearheads:

—Increasing crop products—tropical agricultural products, grains, and nongrain products.

—Increasing bovine and hog rearing products.

—Increasing the raising of aquatic products. Attention must be given to providing modern technical equipment to the fishing sector so that maximum use can be made of the existing processing and refrigeration installations.

2. Light industrial products (including small industry and handicrafts products). Emphasis must be placed on:

—Improving techniques and quality and satisfying market tastes in order to step up exports. Attention must be given to the problem of marketing, because sales of this group of products may encounter many difficulties in the 1990's.

—Continuing to expand export processing forms. These forms are in accord with Vietnam's present situation, because they can help us to a) obtain capital and raw materials from abroad; b) create jobs for the laborers; and, c) actively win markets. Our advantages are that we have cheap labor, we can train people quickly, and we have good experience in foreign trade relationships.

—Continuing to maintain and develop traditional types of goods with better and better quality. Such goods include porcelains, lacquerware, inlaid engravings, embroidered goods, and national medicines.

3. Mining and drilling. Attention must be given to the following types of goods having realistic capabilities:

—Oil and gas and, later, oil and gas products.

—Anthracite and other types of minerals such as apatite, chromite, titanic oxide, construction stone, ornamental rock, and so on.

This group of products, particularly oil and gas, can quickly increase exports, but the rate of exploitation depends on foreign investment capital. We must concentrate on conducting surveys and drilling for oil and gas.

4. Export labor and services. The potential of export labor and services is very great but has not been exploited very much. This is because the policies, measures, and mechanisms currently in force have not provided sufficient stimulation. Attention must be given to the following:

—Exporting labor directly.

—Exporting labor indirectly by obtaining international construction contracts.

—Carrying on transportation, shipping and receiving, and posts and telegraph activities that bring in foreign currency.

—Providing services at the international ports and airports and border stations.

The export structure discussed above has many realistic capabilities, because this is suited to the development conditions of our national economy in the 1990's.

Starting from the export structure formed in past years, particularly 1989 (the year when petroleum and rice became major export items), Vietnam's export structure to the year 2000 can be stipulated as follows: 55 percent agricultural production, processed agricultural products, and forest and aquatic products; 25 percent light industry and small industry and handicrafts products; and approximately 20 percent mineral products. Besides this, the potential of export services must be exploited in order to help increase the export value.

There must be correct policies and concentrated investment in order to stimulate production in accord with the above structure. This must be done with the aim of quickly creating a material base for carrying out the export tasks of the 1990's.

However, exports will only create sources of foreign currency revenue for the country. Using that foreign currency to benefit the national economy depends on imports. Here, the export structure is of decisive importance. And this is an important element of our country's long-term economic strategy.

Some Thoughts on Our National Defense Industry

913E0010E *Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN*
in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 90 pp 48-52, 57

[Article by Lieutenant General Phan Thu]

[Text] Because of the great importance of defending their national independence and sovereignty, many countries, using different measures, have made a great effort to develop an independent defense industry based on specific targets in accord with the specific political, national defense, economic, and scientific and technical situation of their country. Every country has policies to ensure the survival and favorable development of the national defense industry based on the national defense strategy. When necessary, the state can then mobilize the national potential to satisfy the requirements of building and expanding the national defense industry.

Reality shows that besides enabling the country to produce weapons and equipment on its own to hit the national defense targets, expanding the national defense industry can also satisfy the large economic needs. This can create jobs and stimulate scientific and technical advances and production techniques. A number of countries regard the defense industry as an economic sector having high export value. The national defense industry has advantages regarding men, equipment, and advanced technology. In peacetime, most of its capabilities can be mobilized to produce economic goods. Many scientific and technical discoveries have come about as a result of military needs. These are used first in the defense industry. Later on, they can be used in economic activities.

Today, our country is at peace and is concentrating on building the economy and building socialism. But there are still enemy plots aimed at destroying socialism and opposing the independence and sovereignty of our fatherland. The situation within the region is still unstable, and many complex changes are taking place. Building the country and defending the fatherland will always be the two strategic tasks of the socialist revolution in our country, and they are closely related to each other. In the coming decade, socioeconomic construction must be the central task in order to quickly get the country above the poverty level. This is the most pressing requirement of the standard of living. Along with building an economically prosperous country, we must build a strong all-people national defense, which includes the strength of the national defense industry.

Because of the fierce nature of a war to defend the fatherland, the need to ready weapons and military equipment is very great, varied, and complex. The party regards building and expanding the defense industry so that it can supply weapons and equipment to our armed forces as an extremely important strategic problem.

We must carry out this historical task at a time when the country is poor, when there are many economic difficulties, and when industry, particularly heavy industry, is

undeveloped. Although the existing defense industry installations are very valuable assets, they were built during the war for liberation, and they now have many shortcomings (such as zone placement, technical standards, occupational structure, sources of materials and raw materials, and so on). Today, there are also difficulties concerning jobs, technical renovation, and the ability to sell national defense products and economic goods. Furthermore, it is usually very expensive to expand the defense industry.

This situation poses a number of problems that must be studied and solved with a scientific and realistic spirit. Our country's national defense industry must be built and expanded in such a way that it can satisfy the defense requirements in accord with the immediate situation and tasks and prepare the preconditions to hit the long-term targets. It must also make full use of the existing defense industry installations, strive to expand in accord with the real capabilities of our country's economy, and satisfy the development requirements of military technology and military arts.

Regardless of the situation, our national defense industry must hit the target of ensuring that our people's armed forces have sufficient weapons and equipment. The quality of this equipment must constantly be improved so that we can actively wage a people's war to defend the fatherland in any situation. The immediate thing is to maintain the combat readiness capabilities of the existing weapons and military equipment; conduct studies and improve the combat effectiveness of a number of types of weapons in accord with Vietnam's men, terrain, and military arts; gradually produce a number of weapons in appropriate quantities; satisfy peacetime training needs and maintain the reserves necessary to satisfy combat needs.

In order to hit these targets in the country's present situation, we must discuss the following important problems:

The national defense industry must be examined within the context of the country's entire industry, and this must be regarded as an important element of the national economy. In many countries in the world, particularly in economically developed countries, the national defense industry is directly subordinate to the state and is managed like other economic sectors. But in some countries, particularly in a number of developing countries that have just been though a war of liberation and that have not industrialized the economy, it is managed by the Ministry of Defense.

Today and in the coming years, our country's defense industry must be built in the form of a two-part system: the defense industry enterprises that are managed by the Ministry of National Defense and the industrial enterprises that are managed by the economic sectors and that can participate in producing and repairing weapons and military equipment. This second element can be referred to as mobilized industrial enterprises. The national

defense industry, which includes the enterprises that produce weapons and military equipment and the large-scale repair enterprises that can produce parts, is the active element in the national defense economy and is responsible for producing and repairing irreplaceable products and particularly important technology in the military weapons and equipment production and repair system. As for the military products for which state industry must be mobilized, the national defense industry is responsible for turning over technical data, setting material and technical standards, and conducting tests in order to assemble and synchronize things to produce the finished military products.

However, so that the existing defense industry enterprises, which were built during the war and which are limited in many respects, can play an active role in the national defense industry, in addition to the subjective efforts of the defense industry, the state and the echelons and sectors concerned must pay particular attention to this. It would be a mistake to evaluate incorrectly the capabilities and role of the existing defense industry installations and, based on that, not pay attention to maintaining and enabling these installations to overcome difficulties and shortcomings and manifest their existing strengths so that they can survive and expand and become equal to the tasks.

Thus, attention must be given to investments, particularly intensive investments, for the existing defense industry installations in order to improve product quality and synchronize a number of the important weapons and equipment production and repair chains. At the same time, a number of new installations must gradually be built in order to supplement the production capabilities and satisfy the urgent needs of the armed forces for a number of military products. On the other hand, we must also invest and create the conditions so that in peacetime the defense industry installations can, based on fulfilling the national defense support tasks and providing the special equipment and materials needed to produce weapons and military equipment, produce economic goods that have technical and material requirements similar to those of defense products. This is a very basic measure to maintain the production capabilities, ranks of scientific and technical cadres, and skilled workers and at the same time be able to reinvest and renovate the equipment and production techniques in the defense industry and contribute to carrying out the country's socioeconomic tasks. Recently, the defense industry enterprises have actively supported the three major economic programs and produced a number of valuable production materials and consumer goods, some of which have received marks of excellence and which have won awards at economic and technical shows.

Thus, the national defense industry must be viewed as an inseparable element of national industry. It must be built in accord with a strategic plan that will ensure that it serves as the activist in producing and repairing military weapons and equipment and that will ensure that it

serves as a source of strength for producing production materials and consumer goods of high quality for both domestic consumption and exports. This problem must not only be examined and solved based on the overall plans for expanding the national defense industry, but must also be concretized using practical and scientific solutions for each national defense enterprise based on the zone and area.

The socioeconomic potential is the basis for national defense potential. The country's industry is the foundation for the national defense industry, which includes mobilized national defense industry enterprises. Only by relying on the country's industry and coordinating this closely with the mobilized industrial elements will it be possible to satisfy the need to provide military weapons and equipment in a war to defend the fatherland. However, it is not a simple matter to transform economic and industrial potential into the potential and real capabilities of the national defense industry. This is controlled by the conditions and actual activities of each enterprise. The ability to satisfy the need to mobilize to support national defense cannot be created all of a sudden but must be developed according to the plans for coordinating the economy with national defense and national defense with the economy under the control of the state and based on a unified system and special stipulations. Careful preparations must be made in peacetime. This includes formulating laws regulations in making preparations to mobilize industries in peacetime and actually mobilizing industries in wartime. Besides this, there must be a separate budget in the state plan in order to implement this.

In recent years, we have not given sufficient attention to mobilizing industries and have not done this well. As a result, we have not exploited the country's industrial potential in providing weapons and equipment for the armed forces. It can be said that, with the existing capabilities, if the economy and national defense are coordinated well, we will be able to do things better in both the economy and national defense.

The time has come when we must tie the plans for expanding the industrial sectors, particularly the machine, basic chemicals, metallurgy, and electronics sectors, to the plans for expanding the national defense industries. This problem must be posed very clearly in the country's economic and social development strategy and concretized in the economic and social development and investment plans and programs. In the strategy to expand the important industrial sectors, thought must be given to what kind of capacity structure to have in order to directly or quickly transform that structure into defense industry capacity. This is manifested in the equipment structure, technical capabilities, and measures to provide materials and raw materials (particularly specialized materials for the defense industry). This must not be examined from just the standpoint of the entire country, but also from the standpoint of each industrial sector and territorial zone, particularly the strategic economic and national defense zones. There

must be stipulations about legal aspects when examining the economic and technical arguments of industrial projects, and it must be ensured that those projects have the factors needed to satisfy the requirement of supporting the national defense industry.

Coordinating the economy with national defense in preparing ranks of scientific and technical cadres and skilled workers in order to satisfy the need to produce and repair military weapons and equipment is of great importance. Because of the complex and varied nature of defense industry technology and the very rapid growth of the scientific and technical revolution, the intellectual content has increased rapidly in a number of military product units based on modern guidelines. Because of this, there is a great need for high-level specialists and skilled workers to support the national defense industry; along with formulating plans to mobilize industry, there must also be plans to mobilize scientific and technical cadres and highly skilled workers to support the national defense industry when necessary. Colleges and research institutes can and must coordinate things with the military organizations concerned in developing and studying a number of topics to support the production and repair of military weapons and equipment with the aim of making full use of the country's intellectual capabilities to serve the defense industry in peacetime and practicing to satisfy the much greater needs in wartime. One of the requirements of developing Vietnam's national defense industry is to upgrade the existing weapons and design and manufacture new types of weapons. This requires important contributions by scientific and technical research and design and testing. A number of basic subjects and occupations related to the manufacture and technical maintenance of a number of common types of military weapons and equipment can and must be taught at the schools for technical workers. This will create reserve ranks of technical workers for the national defense industry.

The direction of the national defense industry must be determined based on the viewpoints of a people's war and all-people's national defense and manifested from the standpoint of military weapons and equipment production. The questions posed must be answered. These include for whom are the items being produced? What methods of attack will produce the greatest results? Where should attacks be launched? And so on. Thus, the production of military weapons and equipment must satisfy the combat requirements of the defense sector, be in accord with combat on the spot and in the localities, and solve the problems posed for the defense industry by Vietnamese military strategy in a war to defend the fatherland. We must have weapons suited to battlefields in different types of terrain—mountains and forests, coastal areas, and so on—in a tropical country. Our country's national defense industry is being built and developed in an open economy. Because of this, it is essential to expand international cooperation in order to obtain the new fruits of the scientific and technical revolution.

There must be a rational management mechanism with respect to national defense production activities. In this new mechanism, regardless of whether they produce military or economic products, the national defense enterprises must practice economic accounting. At the same time, it must be recognized that regardless of the conditions, military products are special commodities. Even in the capitalist countries, the enterprises that produce military weapons and equipment, regardless of whether they are managed by private or public corporations, do not grow on a free market mechanism base. They are planned and managed based on a defined strategy. Every research, investment, test manufacturing, large-scale production, and product distribution plan, particularly for important types of military weapons and equipment, is checked and monitored by the Ministry of Defense or a state security organization. In Vietnam, the national defense industry was formed and developed in very special conditions. Today, it is organized and managed according to the new mechanism. This change requires the attention of the leadership echelons and a suitable management mechanism to ensure that this industry moves forward.

Along with a rational management mechanism, there must be separate policies aimed at maintaining and exploiting the ranks of cadres and technical workers and maintaining the quality (no seconds) of military products.

Coordinating major overhauls on, restoring, and producing military weapons and equipment is a suitable measure to exploit the system of existing national defense enterprises (repair and production). Reducing our dependence on imported parts is another pressing requirement. We have many large-scale repair enterprises that can repair and restore weapons and ammunition. Separating or failing to organize these two types of enterprises rationally will affect exploiting the strength and capabilities of the defense enterprises. On the other hand, everything from repair and improvement to production is a model for advancing for our national defense industry.

The national defense industry is an element of our country's industry. The development of this industry depends on the results of industrializing the country. On the other hand, the national defense industry must satisfy the lofty requirements of the national defense tasks and of the military strategy. We must carry out this task at a time when the country is encountering many serious economic and social difficulties. Thus, building and expanding the defense industry requires that we have correct viewpoints, take the right steps, and reduce the large gap between capabilities and requirements.

Renovate Understanding Concerning Markets in Our Country

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 53-56*

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Bang; not translated]

Further Discussion on Land Ownership Rights
00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 57-60

[Article by Doan Dinh Hoe; not translated]

Elevating the Leadership Role of the Basic Party Organizations in State Enterprises

913E0010F Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 90 pp 61-63

[Article by Tran Dinh Huynh, deputy head of the Party Building Institute, Marxist-Leninist Institute]

[Text] For several years now, we have been studying the activities of the grassroots party organizations in many state enterprises (both industrial and agricultural enterprises subordinate to the central and local economies).

Because of our function, we have been involved only in studying the leadership of the party organizations, the relationship between the party committee secretary and the enterprise director, and the activities of the mass organizations and labor collectives. Stated another way, we regard enterprises to be perfect organisms having an organized system that is operated with the credentials of a management subject whose management targets are people, the laborers in the enterprise. Our objective has been to examine the effect that the management subject and the management targets have on each other in order to determine what this relationship must be like to achieve high results in production and business based on the requirements of contributing money to the state, renovating techniques, increasing the existing assets and accumulation, expanding production, and providing jobs for and maintaining the laborers' standard of living.

The practices of enterprises that have flourished in past years show that, if the renovation of the enterprise management mechanism is to achieve results, the leadership of the party must be strengthened. Party leadership is always the decisive factor in the various state enterprises. Because of this, the grassroots party organizations at the state enterprises must strive to mature and fulfill the following requirements:

1. The party must be very pure and strong. The party must be resolute, make plans, and stipulate a time limit for expelling those members who do not have sufficient qualifications. This is difficult, but it can be done if people are resolved. There is no need to wait for "changes at the macro level," as some people say. Work standards must be formulated in the enterprises, and these must be discussed openly in both party and mass organizations. When formulating work standards, the committee echelons must also concretize party member standards based on the stipulations in the party statutes. After work standards have been formulated, these will serve as the yardstick for determining who is worthy of being in the party, who does not have sufficient standards and must continue striving, and who is worthy of being recruited into the party. From this, the enterprise

party organizations can do a good job in expelling and recruiting people and renovating the party organization with respect to both ideology and organization and ensuring both purity and strength.

2. Openness, democracy, and equality in cadre work are manifested above all in committee echelon elections. The standards for party committee secretaries and executive committee members must be very specific. From selecting, nominating, and recommending people to electing people at the congresses, everything must be done openly, and the ideas of the masses must be sought. The party organizations exist because the enterprises need the party's leadership. Thus, having the people at the enterprises participate in electing the committee echelons must be regarded as normal. Regularly organizing things to have the cadres and workers outside the party contribute ideas to the party organization about the work content and policies of the party organization and personnel problems is essential. "Division by rank" within the party must be eliminated. The secretary and the party committee members must be real people in the commercial production apparatus.

3. Party members must strive to raise their standards in all aspects. They must be excellent in their profession, understand economic and technical management, have good morals, and live near the masses. Only with such conditions will it be possible to give key positions to the most worthy party members and the outstanding people outside the party.

Only if the party organizations in the enterprises are really pure and strong and only if the party members there are really outstanding people will the masses have confidence in them and admire them.

Reality at progressive enterprises, such as the 19 May Federated Food Enterprise, the Hanoi Spinning Mill, Grain Equipment Manufacturing Plant 1, the Kim Anh Tea Factory, the Hai Ha Tractor Plant, and the Nam Dinh Silk Weaving Plant, shows that the party members at these places hold almost all the key positions, but there has never been a loss of democracy or a problem of "one-party rule" or of the party usurping power. At these places, the party members have always clearly manifested their character and capabilities before the masses; they have exhibited good moral qualities and have excelled in their jobs. As a result, the laborers have confidence in them and have handed over key positions to them.

Conversely, at weak enterprises, our survey shows that party members are not like this. As a result, at these places, there are often two situations: First, the party organizations here have intentionally seized power, "applied pressure," and "divided by rank." But, because the prestige and capabilities of the party members are not equal to the tasks, the masses do not have confidence in them. Thus, the party organizations have become obstacles in the movements. Second, party members have been removed from their positions. As a result,

these party members have become "surplus" people who have lost their leadership rights. Instead of being in the "vanguard," they are in the "rear."

4. The integrated strength of all the organizations in the enterprise must be manifested to form the management subject. Each organization in an enterprise affects the targets in a different way, but they must all contribute to creating the integrated force of the entire enterprise. To do this, each enterprise must formulate very scientific work regulations for itself. This is even more important in the present situation, because higher echelons have issued many directives, resolutions, circulars, and decisions but these are not synchronized or adequate.

These enterprise regulations must concretize, at the enterprise level, the directives and resolutions of the party and the laws and policies of the state. These must be formulated by studying, discussing, supplementing, and perfecting the existing legal documents. These are the "separate laws" of each enterprise that each person at that enterprise must obey. People can do anything they think necessary unless it violates the regulations.

When the Council of Ministers issued Decision 217, which gave independence to the enterprises and which defined and elevated the role of the directors, people at many of the enterprises misunderstood this and made mistakes. This clouded the leadership role of the grassroots party organizations and ownership rights of the workers and civil servants and turned the directors into the "lords" at the enterprises. The situation was different at such places as the Ha Nam Ninh Construction and Installations Corporation, which implemented this decision correctly. Here, the role and prestige of the director is very high, but despite this the leadership role of the party organization has not become clouded. The party members here have actively posed the issue: "The orders of the director must be carried out from beginning to end like a current that cannot be stopped." On the other hand, thanks to clear regulations, the director cannot usurp power, act dogmatically, or remain aloof from the masses.

The formulation and implementation of regulations at the enterprises has resulted in the principle of democratic centralism becoming a living principle that can be implemented. The factors of centralism and democracy have never conflicted with or invalidated each other.

5. The two key positions at an enterprise, that is, the positions of party committee secretary and enterprise director, must be assigned correctly. "Assigning" does not mean organizing things ahead of time and then fitting things together, which is how we have done things for a long time. "Assigning" means creating sources, training cadres, and involving them in practical work so that they can manifest their capabilities and compete with each other. "Assigning" means determining specific standards for each position. We listened to a number of organizers and practical activists at installations discuss

the question of whether the secretary should serve concurrently as the director or deputy director or whether there should be a full-time secretary. Every "plan" has its own reasons, but in our view, those plans did not start from the standards. There was a "division of rank" and the remains of administrative behavior.

Using progressive models, from reviewing and thinking about things, we have come up with the following general formula for selecting party committee secretaries and enterprise directors:

A + (+ or - b) + (+ or - c)

"A" stands for the general standards that all directors and party committee secretaries must have. These are essential for every enterprise. This is the "degree" which must be reached. If it isn't, the person cannot be assigned the task. This is also the factor that will enable the directors and party committee secretaries to "understand each other," "be at the same level," and reinforce each other in carrying out the work.

"b" stands for knowledge of party work, the different styles of the party cadres, and the nature and spirit of party cadres, such as being flexible, having the ability to influence and persuade others, being close to the masses, and setting an example.

"c" stands for the knowledge necessary to create the professional capabilities of directors and talents requiring dynamism, speed, and resolve in managing things.

"A" is a necessary condition; "b" and "c" determine whether the person can serve as secretary or director or hold both positions concurrently.

Using the above formulas, depending on each enterprise and the particular person, the outcome will be different:

A + b - c = secretary

A - b + c = director

A + b + c = director serving concurrently as secretary

Naturally, this is just a very general formula which can give us ideas and help us avoid harmful pressures.

Information and Propaganda in Ideological Work Today

913E0010G Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 90 pp 64-68

[Article by Vu Phong]

[Text] Ever since the sixth party congress, information and propaganda work has been renovated based on progressive and active guidelines, and this has begun to satisfy some of the demands of ideological work. We have ensured and continue to ensure the rights of citizens in receiving information. Information has been opened up and expanded to all sections of the population. We have set guidelines and organized information

to serve the leadership and management of the party and state and to support production and the spiritual lives of the people. Information and propaganda have cut back on one-sided talk and begun talking about both strengths and weaknesses. They are now talking from the top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top and both here and abroad. Information is timely and has striven to be true and accurate. Information and propaganda have taken the lead in the struggle against negative phenomena in the party, the state apparatus, and in society. On the other hand, the progressive examples have been promptly praised, and the elements of building the new life and the new man have been actively propagated. The forces engaged in information and propaganda work are now very large and they have been assembled tightly. The technical means are being improved. The state has promulgated a Press Law and implemented many positive policies and measures in managing information and guaranteeing the people's right to obtain information.

These advances are very notable, but they still don't meet the demands of renovation in general or of today's ideological work. Information and propaganda, like other types of news, includes having news sources and sending and receiving information. We have not managed this process very well. We have not exploited all the news sources. Sometimes, news sources have been confused, and we have not accurately distinguished which pieces of news are correct and can be used and which pieces of news have been put out by the enemy and by destructive and dissatisfied elements in order to keep us from hitting our targets. There have even been times when we have unintentionally spread propaganda for the enemy. Carelessly revealing sources of information is another mistake that must be avoided in managing news sources. Many pieces of information that are just forecasts in staff organizations, scientific agencies, and leadership organizations have been released to people outside these organizations. People have dealt with news sources and put out news in an unorganized and uncoordinated way, with the result that minor and ordinary matters are blown way out of proportion in order to attract customers. Because the information is inaccurate and subjective, the comments and conclusions have been hasty. Information has not been transmitted in a timely manner, and it has not reached every area and every person. There is too much information in the cities, but there is a lack of information in remote areas. Some mountain areas do not have a newspaper or radio. Sometimes there is a radio, but the people can't receive the central or local stations and have to listen to foreign programs broadcast in the Vietnamese language. The results of the information and propaganda work depend not only on accuracy and timeliness, but also on an attitude of being ready to receive information from the people. We have failed to give the people new understanding about the strength and special characteristics of information in implementing democracy and about the openness of information in the new stage. As a result,

some people are dazzled by the information, accept things passively, and fall into the psychological warfare traps set by the enemy.

Using the scientific and technical achievements in information and our weaknesses in renovating information and propaganda, the enemy has and is waging a destructive ideological war with vague, inaccurate, and distorted information contents and with tricks and forms to attract people and use our loopholes. We have not discovered or countered this in a timely way, and our response has been feeble. We have numerous and strong forces to counterattack, but preparations have not been made and we have been slow to assemble these forces. At the same time, state management with respect to publishing newspapers, magazines, and other publications and broadcasting news has been lax. Some people have exhibited incorrect ideas and difficult social moods, but we have ignored this even though this should have been dealt with promptly. Many places have slighted propaganda activities and internal struggle.

These weaknesses have made it difficult for cadres, party members, and the people to understand what is basic in the news, what are comments and guidelines, and what are just notices. During the past stage, many of the nation's most important problems have been transformed into issues difficult to understand in actual practice. The reason for the above weaknesses is that we do not fully understand the role and special characteristics of information and propaganda in the new stage. As a result, we lack a strategy for leading and managing information. We have not formulated a concrete information and propaganda policy and have not built a rank of excellent information and propaganda cadres with a firm viewpoint. We have not managed things in an active, systematic, and resolute manner.

Information in ideological work is now taking place in special circumstances. The all-round renovation process, particularly economic renovation, in Vietnam is having a great effect on social concepts and the concepts of each citizen. As a result, the ideological changes taking place in society are quite complex. Because each person's level of awareness is different, along with the positive ideas, there are also incorrect and negative ideas. The world situation is undergoing many changes. The effects of the reform and renovation movements in the socialist countries and the effects of the capitalist world on our country with many types of information are becoming stronger and stronger. In ideological work, if information plays a passive role and provides only data, that will be a great mistake. We must know how to accept and deal with things in order to play a guiding role in a systematic way and set guidelines for the targets, that is, all the people, with even higher standards. In this situation and with this responsibility, information and propaganda work must adhere closely to the basic task of ideological work as determined at the sixth party congress: "Thinking in every sphere of activity of the party and state must be renovated. Above all, economic thinking must be renovated, the revolutionary qualities of the cadres and party

members must be improved, the spirit of patriotism and love for socialism and spirit of proletarian internationalism must be strengthened, and the revolutionary will power of the masses must be aroused." Based on this, I think that information and propaganda must concentrate on the following main themes and subjects:

The people must be mobilized to carry out the three economic programs. Specifically, propaganda must be spread so that the people have a correct understanding of the economic elements and the state's stimulation and management policies with respect to the economic elements. The ownership rights of the primary level economic units must be manifested, and conditions must be created to enable the state-operated economy to gradually grow and play a guiding role in the national economy. The agricultural economy must be expanded to produce socialist commodities. Every person's concept of responsibility must be elevated so that they actively engage in productive labor and practice frugality.

The people must be educated so that they have a correct understanding about expanding democracy, and the socialist legal system must be strengthened. Revolutionary vigilance must be heightened, the nature of the enemy must be clearly understood, and political security and social order must be maintained.

Qualities and morals must be strengthened, and there must be an active struggle against negative phenomena.

If information and propaganda are to achieve good results, they must be actively renovated. The renovation guidelines for information and propaganda are democracy, openness, and honesty. But these must also manifest their combat nature based on the leadership lines of the party. Information and propaganda must become deeply involved in solving the following problems:

Propaganda themes and subjects must be closely related to the problems of life, which are problems about which all people are concerned.

Information and propaganda work must be objective and comprehensive and respect the truth and the special characteristics and customs of the minority groups. Positive and progressive aspects must be propagandized, and negative and backward aspects must be criticized. Leaders, people, and higher and lower echelons must be criticized. The progressive factors of the world must be propagandized widely, and outside poisons must be prevented from entering our country.

Information and propaganda must help people analyze and correctly evaluate domestic and international problems. To do this, there must be a rank of cadres who are experts in propaganda work. Training must be provided in order to have many reporters and propagandists who are familiar with and who have a firm grasp of the problems. Those engaged in information and propaganda work can't listen just to the leaders, but must also listen to the specialists. More than ever before, those

involved in information and propaganda work must have pure hearts and be sharp in their work. Press conferences must be strengthened, and international and domestic press conferences must be renovated. Press conferences should be televised live in order to reduce the "silent observer" role of the reporters and increase their responsibility in transmitting news and making positive comments. The various forms of transmitting and televising the news, publishing publications, and holding conversations and discussions must be renovated in order to attract the attention of the people.

In order to lead and manage information and propaganda work effectively, the party and state should take urgent and active steps to solve the following problems:

Internal ideological activities should be given more attention and renovated even more. Adequate and accurate information must be provided quickly. There must be unity within the party, and every party member must be enthusiastic and confident so that they can persuade and awaken the masses more effectively. The party bases must have sufficient party newspapers and journals and make effective use of these. Information and propaganda work at the party bases and population centers must enable each committee echelon and party member to take the lead in smashing the arguments and propaganda of the enemy, gathering the people tightly around the party, and giving them confidence in the leadership of the party.

There must be specific policies to build a rank of information and propaganda cadres who have firm viewpoints and who are skilled in their profession. Particular attention must be given to building a rank of management cadres with a lofty spirit of initiative and responsibility.

There must be information policies that give priority to those involved in information and propaganda work, particularly reporters. Leadership echelons must stay in regular contact with those involved in information and propaganda work, particularly reporters, and not just with the editors in chief, but also ordinary reporters. Attention must be given to their ideas. There must be direct dialogues and discussions in order to find out the truth and handle the different tendencies and ideas correctly. There must be correct and stable policies with respect to those involved in press work. In particular, there must be policies on wages, housing, training, and research, and a press fund should be established (some of the money can be appropriated from the writers' funds of the newspapers, stations, and journals) for use in building housing and other welfare projects such as vacation homes and training centers. Today, we have almost 10,000 people involved in press and propaganda work, but we do not have even one vacation home or regular training center for them.

The party's leadership must be strengthened with respect to the Vietnam Reporters Association, and the close relationship between the state management echelons and

the association must be strengthened. Conditions must be created so that the association can carry on activities to mobilize its members to train actively and contribute to renovating the country and the press.

State control must be strengthened with respect to publishing various publications, records and videos, and broadcasting programs. The various echelon authorities must observe the unity of the laws passed. They are legally responsible for their decisions on publishing activities in the localities. The legal organizations must strengthen their control regarding the import of cultural products and resolutely prosecute those who violate the laws on publishing and dealing in cultural products. There must be a nationwide movement to control and register the means of printing publications, the means of broadcasting, and the broadcasting frequencies. There must be specific regulations in controlling this work. Resolute steps must be taken to restore order and discipline in publishing and broadcasting.

Financial policies must be determined in information and propaganda activities, and these activities must be freed from bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, but without taking on commercial tendencies. Ideological work in general and information and propaganda work in particular cannot be viewed as a commercial sector. Opposing the old style of state subsidies is correct and necessary, but the consequences will be terrible if information and propaganda work is allowed to become commercial in nature. The state must implement a

suitable investment policy in order to solidify and strengthen the means and equipment for the newspapers and journals, press agencies, and broadcasting stations so that these organizations can maintain their activities, expand, and satisfy the information needs of society.

There must be a comprehensive and long-term national policy on information, particularly propaganda information. This policy should set directions and point out the mechanism for renovating information work in the sectors, such as scientific information, economic information, military information, and propaganda information. The management system must be pointed out, and there must be a policy to divide the work and coordinate things among the specialized information sectors, among the forces involved in information work, and among the information research and management organizations. Based on this, plans must be formulated to build and modernize the material and technical base for information, particularly propaganda information. There must be plans to train the ranks of cadres, and there must be policies related to the information and propaganda activities.

Thoughts on the Value of a Scientific Project

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 69-71

[Article by Dao Van Tien; not translated]

**Why Does the Agro-Industrial Tax Still Show a
Large Deficit?**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 72-74*

[Article by Doan Dinh; not translated]

It Is Time for the 'General' To Appear

913E0010H Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 90 pp 75-77

[Article by Hoang Dien, retired cadre]

[Text] Please don't confuse this with the movement of a chess player's general when it is put into check. Here, I want to talk about those who act like "generals" with the credentials of people who manage, command, and lead all aspects and localities in the sense of "cadres who decide everything."

Our country's socioeconomic situation is undergoing encouraging changes even though these are still not very great or basic. Unfortunately, many painful things are still taking place on a broad scale, and the trust of the people is still being betrayed. The press has published stories that have worried and angered honest and upright people. This includes everything from negative banking phenomena; credit "bankruptcies"; the theft of national paddy reserves; the smuggling of rice, currency, and other scarce goods out of the country; and the smuggling of luxuries into the country; to blacklists, "black" videos, extravagant parties, the excessive exploitation of our natural resources, the theft of public property, tax avoidance, the issuing of "quotas" contrary to the stipulations, and so on. And we must also mention the problem of democracy in the rural areas and the problem of social order. These phenomena have brought joy to our enemies, pain to the people, and sadness to the party because these things have drained the natural resources and material assets of the people; wasted public funds; eroded the revolutionary ideals, spiritual lives, and social morals of the people; weakened the revolutionary forces; and reduced the power and resistance of the country. People have criticized and condemned these things many times. This has played a great role in gradually ridding us of this deadly negative atmosphere. This is essential and urgent and must be done with even greater vigor. But empty talk, empty appeals, and useless criticism and self-criticism are not enough. We will not be able to smash the negative castle this way.

In recent years, responding to the resolutions and directives of the party and state, we have engaged in many activities, exerted much strength, and used large amounts of paper and ink, but little has been achieved in the sectors and localities.

Why? There are many reasons that could be mentioned. But clearly, the most important reason has to do with the actions of the cadres. This is the basic reason. A long time ago, the party determined that, after correct policies are formulated, the decisive problem is cadres. But we cannot say "cadres" in general, because in the action system there must be managerial, command, and leadership cadres, technical cadres to provide help, and cadres to carry out the work, meaning that there must be upper echelons and lower echelons. The decisive tasks are up to the higher echelon cadres, that is, those who are the "generals," the managers, commanders, and leaders.

President Ho said that if the party members go first, the country will follow. Expanding on that, that sentence can also mean that if higher echelons go first, lower echelons will follow. The notice issued by the Ninth Plenum of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee emphasized a concept of responsibility and the important role of CPV Central Committee members at all echelons and in all sectors and of the Council of Ministers in guiding and managing things. Based on this, I think that the time has come for the "general" to appear, meaning that the "general" must take action.

Experiences in the advanced countries show that those at the head of a locality or sector have very specific responsibilities and that they carry out their tasks in a set way. There aren't cases of the type "too many carpenters build a crooked house" or "management of a monastery is neglected when there are too many monks." Success generates (material) rewards. Those who make mistakes or fail are dismissed or prosecuted. If a locality or echelon makes a mistake, the chief must take joint responsibility. In those countries, if a foreign pleasure aircraft penetrates their airspace, the head of the Air Force will be dismissed, and if two ships collide, the communications chief will be dismissed or prosecuted. In our country, such things have happened, but no action has been taken against those responsible. In the face of public opinion, they usually "remain silent" or change positions or sectors in order to "ride out the storm." If a foreign trade corporation in a district goes bankrupt, the district CPV Committee member in charge of the corporation is transferred to another job and given a higher position with a higher salary or he retires with his salary and stolen assets. The only punishment meted out to a provincial CPV Committee member in charge of war invalids and social affairs who was exposed as having misappropriated wages was dismissal from the provincial committee. When the wages of instructors are not paid, no one is punished. In some provinces, many cadres and provincial organizations are involved in smuggling goods into and out of the province, but the provincial secretaries and chairmen sit by idly. While assets, reserve grain, and resources are lost and the environment is damaged, the "generals" who head the sectors and provinces sit by idly, because they are in the upper echelons and just formulate policies, leaving the lower echelons and masses to implement the policies. The revolution is the work of the masses. The only thing the "generals" know how to do is "enjoy the fruits of the labor." People are rewarded, and when there are banquets, they speak interminably. Why don't they just "roll up their sleeves," guide and organize things, and mobilize forces to carry out the work until the job is done?

Once a person has become a "general," regardless of the echelon, he must be "absolutely fair." He must be frugal when consuming the rice of the people and "not eat or rest" as long as a single person is hungry, homeless, oppressed, or illiterate.

The "generals" must be very disciplined and set an example for those at lower echelons. If the rules are not

followed strictly, it means that those above have committed violations first. If the "generals" are kind, those below them will be kind. If they are honest, those below them will be honest. If they are intelligent, they will use talented people and shun opportunists, and if they are brave, they will bear their responsibilities to the end, carry out the tasks effectively, and avoid useless talk. Thus, "generals" must have a very lofty spirit of revolutionary vigilance, constantly take the initiative on behalf of the revolution, and strive to perfect themselves. If they see that something is wrong, they must correct it immediately and not wait for it to be exposed before taking action.

Steps must be taken to elevate and strengthen party discipline and state law. Education cannot consist of theory only, but must go hand in hand with discipline. Retirement must not become a form of cadre discipline. The blame for crime and corruption cannot be shifted to the "mechanism." What mechanism (regardless of the society) would allow crime and corruption? If people exhibit shortcomings, the higher their position, the more severe the discipline should be.

There is already a special antismuggling board. There should be a special anticorruption board. Today, corruption and smuggling are tied very closely to each other. When fighting smuggling, the "generals" should also take steps to control corruption and exterminate the "insects" who are harming the people and country and are boring into our society, and they should contribute to restoring discipline and social justice and to restoring and solidifying the confidence of the people in the party and new system.

Recently, at a conference to transmit Directive 19 of the Hanoi Municipal CPV Committee to the city's key cadres, the secretary of the Municipal CPV Committee stressed that "things must be done starting with us, from the municipal CPV Committee on down. As party members, we must carry out this movement." That's right! I hope that the "generals" will take action!

I believe and hope that those who are "generals" will have confidence in and rely on the brave masses.

The Lower Court Has Passed Judgment, But the Fallout Continues

913E0010I Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 78-80

[Article by Thanh Thuy, Ho Chi Minh City]

[Text] This is the Thanh Huong case, the greatest swindle ever in the country (hopefully, such a case will never happen again).

During the 11-day trial, many different ideas were expressed, but it can be affirmed that the court handled things in accord with the law and allowed all sides participating in the trial (including the defendants and their defense witnesses) to exercise their rights and fulfill their responsibilities.

Nguyen Van Muoi Hai and his accomplices were given a fair sentence. But the punishment meted out to Muoi Hai and his accomplices cannot compensate for the suffering experienced by the more than 100,000 people who were cheated, among whom were retired elderly people who had been saving this money their entire lives, lonely elderly people who needed the money to live, recently recruited soldiers, students living away from home on small scholarships, and even young children who had been given a little money at Tet.

A verdict was rendered, but what do those who were injured think about the Thanh Huong case? They have borrowed a poem by Nguyen Du to express their feelings:

"If it's said to be good, it must be good. But how can we swallow the insult?"

It really is a "bitter pill to swallow." At the end of the trial, the crooks were sentenced, but those who were cheated had no way to recover their money. After the Thanh Huong Perfume Plant went bankrupt, all of the assets seized amounted to only about 34.5 billion dong. But it had gotten 154.7 billion dong from 120,000 people. According to the verdict rendered by the court, Nguyen Van Muoi Hai and his accomplices are responsible for compensating the people for their losses. Regardless of whether they will be able to repay this money, justice has not only satisfied the injured people but also made society aware of the price that must be paid for a lack of vigilance.

What those who suffered damages are indignant and bitter about is the fact that Nguyen Van Muoi Hai and his accomplices used the money stolen from them to engage in dissolute and illegal activities. They spent 3.669 billion dong in advance payments to purchase items to entertain foreign guests. They organized frequent trips, vacations, and parties, costing 3-7 million dong each time. They spent 1,899 ounces of gold and 900 million dong to purchase 21 automobiles of various types and 18 houses. Nguyen Van Muoi Hai used a new automobile costing 400 million dong, and his wife (Nguyen Thi Nhu) had her own car costing 80 ounces of gold.

This is very "hard to swallow," because in the Thanh Huong case, along with passing sentence on these criminals, the court also passed sentence on 17 cadres, party members, and state employees who had accepted bribes from Nguyen Van Muoi Hai to cover up, abet, serve as middlemen, and directly participate in his criminal activities. But people do not think that Nguyen Van Muoi Hai had a relationship with only the 17 cadres who were prosecuted. Public opinion continues to focus attention on points that have not yet been clarified. The initial charges filed by the Municipal People's Organ of Control stated: "The investigation of this case has shown that Nguyen Van Muoi Hai and his accomplices engaged in many illegal activities at the Thanh Huong Perfume Plant, but the Municipal People's Organ of Control does not have the evidence to convict them." Recently, the municipal press has printed articles about the illegal activities of Nguyen Van Muoi Hai and his relationship with a number of people. This includes Le Cong Thanh, deputy director of the Finance Service and head of the Ho chi Minh City Tax Office, who plotted with him to avoid paying taxes; Tran Sanh Thoai, director of the Saigon Industrial-Commercial Bank, who plotted with him to disperse, conceal, and speculate in gold; and Tran Thi Hoang Thanh (the wife of Phan Cong Trinh), who borrowed 120 million dong from the Thanh Huong plant. Besides this, the municipal press has asked the justice organizations to clarify a number of other cases: After serving only three months of a five-year sentence, Nguyen Huu Do was released from prison. (Who decided to reduce his sentence?) The two cars smuggled into the country by Nguyen Van Muoi and Nguyen Thi Nhu were registered properly. (Who allowed them to be registered and who checked this? To whom were the 33 pieces of gold paid for properly registering the car of Nguyen Thi Nhu?) Nguyen Van Muoi Hai lodged complaints against more than 10 people. (Who were they?) About 17,000 receipts at the Thanh Huong plant have not been picked up. In particular, there are 2,000 receipts worth more than 20 million dong. (Who owns those receipts?) (SAIGON GIAI PHONG, 3 November 1990)

The case at the Thanh Huong Perfume Plan was a well-organized case of fraud involving many people. This case has caused great material damage. The Thanh Huong case is not an isolated case, because in Ho Chi Minh City, there are other similar cases that have not yet been tried. This includes the XACOGIVA case involving Pham Cong Tuoc, the ANDACO Credit Cooperative case, and the Dai Thanh Credit Cooperative case. These cases have caused much suffering for the victims, had a bad effect on many aspects of social life, and caused the masses to lose confidence in the state organizations.

The lower court has rendered its verdict, but the Thanh Huong case has raised many questions about a number of other cadres in positions of power. Those who have violated the law will continue to be punished. The price that has been paid and that continues to be paid is that a number of cadres have given up a glorious past because

of being seduced by the desire for money. As we know, those who engage in fraud want to grow rich quickly. They bribe people with power and the ability to help them or people who have the power to oversee their business activities. Nguyen Van Muoi Hai followed this path and spent 294 million dong and 22 ounces of gold to bribe a number of cadres and state personnel to aid him in his illegal activities. Clearly, a number of degenerate cadres and party members have "contributed" to creating the situation that enabled Nguyen Van Muoi Hai to engage in fraud on a grand scale and destroy the assets of people. As for the Thanh Huong Perfume Plant mobilizing a huge sum of money for production or for some other purpose, Nguyen Quang Loc, who had served as the director of the Southern Vietnam Laundry Detergent Enterprise, was skilled in business activities and had to know what was going on. Because Nguyen Quang Loc and his accomplices were well aware of the fact that the monthly production figures of the Thanh Huong Perfume Plant were very small.

Another practice of those criminals who want to expand their influence is to advertise in the mass media. To be fair, there were not too many newspapers that "praised" the business activities of Thanh Huong, but many advertisements were run for this plant.

The Thanh Huong case has also exposed many loopholes in the management measures aimed at blocking the use of the policies to engage in fraud and make a profit. For this reason, during the trial, the statements made by the prosecutor and by the defense lawyers were very different. This shows that our special policies and legal system is not perfect or in accord with our country's real situation. The sentences given by the court to the defendants (which did not satisfy some people, who wanted the court to hand down stiffer sentences) and the statements made by the defense lawyers (who wanted the court to find the defendants innocent) could not increase or decrease the crime based on subjective desires or go beyond the framework of existing punishments.

At a time when the party and state are concentrating on putting a stop to corruption, bribery, and other negative phenomena in society, the fair trial given those involved in the Thanh Huong case was a measure of the resolve of the legal organizations in purifying society.

From the Thanh Huong case and similar cases, everyone realizes that the criminals just caused suffering for the victims. This has helped everyone to see the price that must be paid for a lack of vigilance and the decline in the moral qualities of cadres and party members in the face of material and monetary temptations. This has made people aware of the urgent need to elevate the spirit of responsibility of the state management organizations.

Relations Between Communists and Social Democrats

913E0010J Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 81-85

[Article by Nguyen Xuan Son, deputy head of the Communist and International Workers Movements Department, Nguyen Ai Quoc Institute]

[Text] The history of development of mankind is a process in which man is constantly moving back and forth and searching for paths and methods to improve economic and social conditions. The history of the international workers movement is the history of a struggle by laborers against those who enjoy special privileges and who own the means of production and against cruel exploitation and the moral corruption generated by those special privileges. The appearance of varied ideas and viewpoints in such a large political and social movement is easy to understand. Communists and social democrats are the two main streams in the plurality of views.

The ideological struggle started right after the birth of the workers movement. The wealth of struggle methods against the bourgeois class, the broad nature of the movement, and the participation of different sections of the population in the ranks of workers are the things that have given rise to different ideological tendencies on major problems such as targets, paths, methods, forms, and the leadership forces of the movement.

A fierce ideological struggle between the revolutionary and reformist tendencies took place at the Second International, with the result that there was a division into two streams at the beginning of 1919: the communist stream and the social democratic stream. The communists and social democrats disagreed with each other on almost all issues. The terms "revolutionary" and "reformist" perfectly reflected their ideological nature.

Capitalism at that time had entered the imperialist stage. Many capitalist countries had moved onto the international political stage. They fought each other for colonies, but they also cooperated closely with each other to maintain their ruling position. They were ideologically unified in exploiting the workers and suppressing worker movements. The yellow trade unions and aristocratic classes of workers and the encouragement of parliamentary struggles and economic strikes were the inventions of the bourgeois class aimed at avoiding a clash to the death with the proletariat.

In such conditions, the views of Bechstein in Germany, of the Millerand faction in France, of the Fabians in England, and of the economics faction in Russia could not be accepted. Those factions were actually defenders of the bourgeoisie.

Contrary to this were the views of Engels, Roda, Luxembourg, Karl Liebknecht, and Lenin, who wanted to carry out a revolution in order to topple the bourgeois class.

Only by carrying out such a revolution would it be possible to win democracy and economic rights for the masses, that is, the proletariat.

The victory of the October Revolution in Russia was a historical validation of the revolutionary ideas of the communists. The world moved in the direction of Leninism and the October Revolution. The divisions within the social democratic parties in Europe entered a more decisive stage. The establishment of the Third International, the Communist International, in February 1919 marked a complete break between the communists and the social democrats both ideologically and organizationally.

From the time of the October Revolution until the beginning of the 1950's, the influence and prestige of the social democrats was much weaker than that of the communists. The Communist International won over almost all the leftists in the social democratic parties in Europe. With the spirit of the October Revolution, the Communist International was regarded as the staff in coordinating the revolutionary vanguard forces of the proletariat in order to win victory for the "world proletarian revolution."

In those conditions, Lenin waged an uncompromising struggle against manifestations of the reformist views of the social democrats and constantly looked for satisfactory ways to organize, together with the social democrats, a common struggle against capitalism. He rejected every action and word that would intensify the struggle with the social democrats. His view was that it was necessary to "organize an all-round political struggle under the leadership of the party" to oppose the bourgeois class but that steps must be taken to ensure that "every strata in the opposing camp can make contributions and provide as much help as possible" to the struggle of the proletariat.¹

Under Lenin's leadership, the Communist International raised the slogan of forming a worker-peasant government based on cooperation between the communists and social democrats. That was regarded as a way of opposing the bourgeois class. The Communist International also formulated a plan aimed at building a unified worker front. This called for strengthening cooperation between the communists and social democrats.

Unfortunately, Lenin's ideas were not carried forward or developed. Instead, after his death, they were ignored. For a long time, the communists and social democrats needed to cooperate closely with each other in order to oppose the fascist threat, but instead, the struggle between them intensified. Social democrats were viewed as "social fascists," as "lackeys of the bourgeois class," and as "enemies who were even more dangerous than the fascists." Stalinism erected a strong barrier between the communist parties and the social democratic parties.

By the time of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, when everyone saw the need to coordinate

things between the communists and the social democrats in order to oppose fascism, fascism had expanded throughout Europe.

This tardy and weak cooperation had a great influence on the struggle of the international proletariat against fascism. During the period 1923-1940, the social democratic parties formed a loose international organization, which many researchers today still refer to as the Reform International.

At the end of World War II, facing the possibility of the birth of a new world system including countries that followed the path of communism, 13 social democratic parties held a meeting in order to establish a preparatory committee in preparation for the establishment of an international organization of the social democratic parties. After March 1945, the activities of the social democratic parties began to exhibit a more confrontational relationship with the communist stream.

Today, a number of people say that the views of the social democratic parties during the period from the end of World War II to the beginning of the 1970's was a continuation of the reformism of Bechstein and Kausky during the Second International. This evaluation is superficial. Actually, the reformism of Bechstein and Kausky was a type of opportunism and tendency which was, according to Lenin, "vague and unclear." Unless examined carefully, it could be said to be "revolutionary." The viewpoint of the social democratic parties during the period 1945-1970 was openly anticommunist.

The program adopted at the congress to establish the Socialist International announced a complete break with Marxist traditions in the social democratic movement and announced neutrality in its world outlook. It replaced Marxist theory with a system referred to as moral values with the target of reforming today's society. The viewpoint of the social democratic parties manifested open support for the anticommunist policy of the imperialist powers and the NATO bloc. They regarded peace as the leading target, but supported the U.S. imperialists' invasion of Korea. Facing the strength of socialism, of the struggle movement for peace, and of the national liberation movement, the Socialist International was forced to revise its resolutions. However, they maintained their anti-Soviet and antisocialist viewpoint, maintained their uncooperative attitude, and frequently attacked the communist parties in power.

Since the Eighth Congress, the parties belonging to the Socialist International have never had a unified viewpoint on international problems. At this congress, the representatives of the Japanese Socialist Party opposed the anti-Soviet and anticommunist trend.

At the 10th Congress, the German Social Democratic Party proposed an exchange of views between the social democratic parties and the communists.

At the 11th Congress, the representatives of the Japanese Socialist Party and the Finnish Social Democratic Party

opposed the anticommunist resolutions. It can be said that, since the 1970's, among members of the Socialist International, forces have appeared that are concerned about limiting the arms race and that have condemned racial discrimination. At the 12th and 13th Congresses of the Socialist International, various problems such as the "new world economic order," the war carried on by the United States in Vietnam, and the foreign debt of the developing countries were debated vigorously.

At the beginning of the 1980's, the anticommunist and anti-Soviet tendency of the social democratic parties declined. They began to pay attention to many practical problems in world political life, which are problems with which communists are concerned, too. In a number of European countries, where the social democratic parties hold power, they solved a number of the political and social problems of their countries. Thus, the desire to develop in accord with the model of democratic socialism is a tendency in world political life.

In the present stage, at a time when man faces many problems that must be solved, strengthening an exchange of views and cooperation between communists and social democrats is essential. Reestablishing confrontational and subjective tendencies in the development strategy of each group will pose serious obstacles for the struggle to solve the common problems.

The interests of the working class and of all people are the basic factor affecting international political life. This has a direct effect on relations between the two streams. Since the Eighth Congress of the Socialist International, representatives of communist parties have participated. On the 60th and 70th anniversaries of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union invited many social democratic party delegations. Cooperation between the communist parties and the social democratic parties, particularly the leftist forces in the social democratic parties, is expanding.

Many of the viewpoints of the Socialist International contain new elements. As compared with the program adopted at the First Congress at the beginning of 1951, the new program approved at the 13th Congress in Stockholm in 1989 has shown development on many of the important international problems. Adopted during the "cold war" period, the 1951 program had a very confrontational nature. But the new program of 1989 has begun to manifest a constructive spirit and show concern for improving international relations. It has given attention to such problems as maintaining international peace and security, carrying on disarmament, strengthening the dialogue between the East and the West, protecting the environment and human rights, and helping the underdeveloped countries.

In the present situation, the socialist countries, at different levels, are carrying on all-round reform and renovation movements. This is a process of examining and adjusting the path and methods to hit the strategic targets of socialism. In this process, the expansion of

ideological and theoretical exchanges and struggles and the political events that have taken place in many countries have made one problem very clear: Based on Marxism-Leninism and the realities of development of the world, the ways of looking at socialism, democratic socialism, and capitalism must be renovated.

Life demands cooperation and effective unity of action. This is in the interests of the working class and of each nation. But cooperation does not mean abandoning the struggle or tearing down the boundaries between revolution and reform. While cooperating and coordinating things with the social democrats, communists must on one hand avoid having prejudices and on the other hand hold fast to their viewpoints. They must resolutely criticize the innate reformist tendencies in the social

democratic stream and expose the dogmatic ways of a number of social democrats who are trying to protect the interests of the bourgeois class and who are turning their backs on the working class and opposing socialism.

Footnote

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, Volume 6, p. 109.

I Am in Sympathy With the Work 'Democracy' by G. Macse

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 12, Dec 90 pp 86-88

[Article by "Giang Ri-xta"; not translated]

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